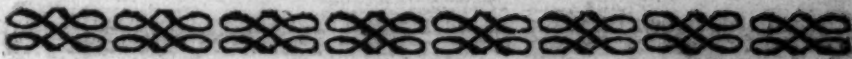


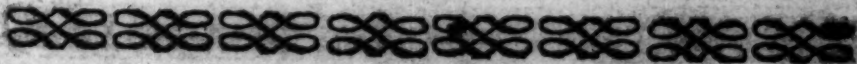
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Mr. FRISBIE's

Eulogy, &c.





Mr. FRISBIE'S

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A N
E U L O G Y

ON THE
ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTER
OF THE LATE

General George Washington,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA :

Who died on Saturday, the 14th of December, 1799.

Delivered at Ipswich, on the 7th day of January, 1800.

By LEVI FRISBIE, A. M. *R*

Minister of the Gospel in the first parish of said town.

PUBLISHED BY DESIRE OF THE HEARERS.

The Righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.

DAVID.

He mourns the dead, who lives as they desire.

YOUNG.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

General WASHINGTON's parental and affectionate
ADDRESS to his Country, declining their future
suffrages for the Presidency.

Printed at Newburyport, by EDMUND M. BLUNT, 1800.

TO THE READER.

THE authors, of whose assistance the composer of the following Eulogy has availed himself, are Doctors Morfe, Ramsey, Young and Messire Flechier. He has marked the ideas, cited from these authors in their own words, with inverted commas ; but if the reader should meet with other thoughts, as probably he may, selected from the same authors, but clothed in the composer's own language, and accomodated to his subject, he will give due credit for them to their original owners. The passages cited from the immortal *Washington's* writings needed nothing to distinguish them but their own superior merit.



AN EULOGY ON THE LATE
General George Washington.

ON II. CHRON. xxxvth Chap. 24th and 25th verses.

And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah, and Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day.

THEIR mourning and lamentation were a suitable precedent for us on this sadly solemn occasion. The wisest, the best and most amiable of men, like Josiah, though their friends and countrymen wish and pray ever so earnestly for their continuance, cannot live here forever.

It is the prerogative of *Him* who reigns in the Heavens, and governs all the states and kingdoms of the earth, to raise up men of eminent talents and virtues to bless the countries to which they belong ; and it is his prerogative to remove them at his pleasure, as a correction for the errors and vices of their countrymen ; and to teach them the vanity and uncertainty of those riches, honors and pleasures, they so fondly pursue. When men of such excellent characters are given to a people, it is their duty to acknowledge the distinguishing gift of heaven with gratitude and praise ; and when they are torn from them by a sudden and surprising stroke, it becomes

comes them to lament the loss of such eminent benefactors with a sorrow and humiliation, as deep and extensive as the frown of heaven, and the loss they have sustained. What words have then an emphasis sufficient to express the gratitude we owe to God for the gift of a WASHINGTON, and the anguish and lamentation of our country that its *illustrious Friend and Father* is no more? Yes, he was the Father of our country; raised up by the hand of gracious heaven to assist the birth, to nourish the infancy, to direct and defend the childhood of our new born empire: but alas! he is removed from his charge and left us, as destitute orphans to bewail our unspeakable loss! And yet he is not lost; he lives, he greatly lives in the benefit and glory of his actions, in the veneration and affection of his grateful countrymen, and will live in the records of fame as long as liberty and virtue shall be respected and admired. The fragrant odour of his memory shall flow down the current of future generations, till they are lost in the ocean of eternity.

SHALL we not then, while we deeply deplore the melancholy event, be permitted to console the sorrow of our hearts, and illumine the sable cloud of our afflictions by contemplating his illustrious talents and virtues, celebrating the praise of his eminent and glorious services and achievements, and holding him up to view as an example to all who are ambitious to excel, as a model for Warriors, for Statesmen and Magistrates through all ages, in our own country and throughout the world?

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To assist your minds in these sadly solemn, but highly useful reflections, is the task assigned me on this interesting occasion—A task how honorable! and yet how delicate, how arduous; and, I had almost said, how useless? For who is not acquainted with the deeds, the virtues of a Washington? Whose heart and mouth is not filled with his praise? Yet why should it be deemed arduous and difficult to do justice to his merit, for who can think of his virtues and not catch from their influence such an inspiration, as well render him eloquent in Eulogiums to his memory? Certainly “no subject was ever more susceptible of a solid and sublime eloquence than the Life and the Death” of THE GREAT, *the immortal* WASHINGTON, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE AMERICAN ARMIES, PRESIDENT FOR MANY YEARS OF THESE UNITED STATES, AND LATE GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THEIR FORCES. “In what personage did ever the effects of moral, military, and political virtue shine with greater splendor, than in this renowned Chief? How strikingly were they exhibited in the formation and conduct of armies, in bold encounters, honorable retreats and hard fought battles; in conquering his enemies by force, or wasting away their strength and numbers by patience and address;” in accepting, with a becoming diffidence, the highest offices his country could bestow, in filling them with dignity, wisdom and fidelity, in resigning them with modesty and moderation, in counselling and advising the officers and subjects of government

to

to a course of conduct most wisely adapted to secure their liberty, their harmony, virtue, dignity and prosperity to the remotest generations ? “ Where can we find another so liberal, so disinterested, so devoted to the glory and happiness of his country ; so great in adversity by his courage, in prosperity by his modesty, in difficulties by his prudence, in dangers by his valour, and in religion by his piety ? ” But no *pen*, no *tongue*, but his own, could do justice to his merits ; yet *these* were always as silent in his own praises, as they are at this melancholy moment. Let then his *works*, and his *writings* speak his just praises, these will be found the truest mirror of his virtue, and his fame. Let us contemplate our beloved Hero engaged in the arduous labours of the cabinet and the field. But these are so vast, so complicated in their number and variety, that we know not where to begin, or where we shall be able to end—

LET us then recur to the time and the place at which he made his entrance on the stage of the world. The parish of Washington in the county of Westmoreland, and state of Virginia, was the favoured spot, which, on the 11th of February old style, in the year 1732, gave birth to our illustrious Hero. Yes, he was a *pure American* ; he was born in our country ; his genius, his virtues, his actions, are all our own—

AT an early age, he was deprived of his father's patronage, and the kind attention of his eldest brother, by their death, and left an object of watchful care and tenderness

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to an affectionate mother. His genius needed not, like those of an inferior grade, the labored instructions, discipline and stimulus of a public university, to call forth its energies, and ripen its improvement. Under the nurturing care of a private tutor, his active and penetrating mind was able to acquire those principles and rudiments of knowledge and science, which were necessary to prepare him for the discharge of those high and important offices, he was, hereafter, to sustain. What though he was not master of the language of Greece or of Rome; he was master of virtues and accomplishments superior to the noblest of their sons—

WHEN he was 15 years of age he entered as midshipman on board a British vessel of war, but was prevented taking possession of the station he had obtained, by the aversion of his mother to a profession so unfavourable to his morals and his life. Thus an *Omniscient Providence* prevented his becoming a skillful artist in hurling that British thunder, against whose bolts, he was destined to defend the lives and liberties of his countrymen. Having a firm and enterprising soul, united to a healthful and vigorous body, neither corrupted nor invigorated by the vices and excesses of youth, he was fitted to perform the duties, and endure the hardships of a life, devoted to the safety, the happiness and glory of his country—

IN the year 1753, when he was but little more than 21 years of age, he accepted and executed a mission to

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treat

treat with the French and Indians at Fort Du Quesne, and to remonstrate to the former against their encroachments upon the lands of our now western territory. To accomplish this mission, he had to pass a wild and howling wilderness for several hundred miles, beset with savage beasts and more savage men; and to guard against the attacks of violence, and the arts of negociation; but with a consciousness of his own integrity, a modest confidence in his own abilities, and a humble reliance on the protection of divine Providence, he "executed the duties of a mission, so arduous and difficult, with singular industry, intelligence and address"—

In the year 1755, we meet with our beloved Hero making a more conspicuous entrance on the theatre of war; a theatre on which he was destined to shine hereafter with such distinguished glory. He began more decidedly to improve his mind in the practical knowledge of military service in the office of Colonel of the Virginia provincial troops, under the orders and discipline of General Braddock. This gentleman was British commander of an expedition against the French forces at a post since denominated Fort Pitt; and though skillful in the science and practice of war, he unwarily fell into an ambuscade near the banks of the river Monongahela. He immediately drew up his troops in close order of battle, thereby exposing them, in open view, to the deadly fire of his enemies, concealed and secured behind the logs and trees of the forest; who, though far inferior in numbers

bers to his own forces, cut them down by hundreds and by thousands, and left them to lie unburied in the ranks in which they fell a prey to savage beasts, and a perpetual monument of the utter insufficiency of a commander who does not unite in his character prudence with courage, judgment and sagacity with the art of war.

COL. Washington had the prudence and courage to defend the shattered remains of the routed army against the further attacks of their enemy, and to conduct their retreat to a station of safety. And he doubtless had the wisdom to profit by this fatal instance of inattention and temerity in his general, and to bear it on his mind, as an affecting caution to be forever on his guard against such a disastrous surprize and defeat. No instance, it is presumed, can be found in the whole series of his military operations, in which he presented an advantage to his enemy, by unguarded security or intemperate rashness. He knew when to *advance* and when to *retire*. No hazards or labours could deter him from engaging an enemy, when warranted by wisdom and prudence : No provocations of his enemy, no censure from his professed friends, no dread of dishonour to his military character, could impel him to risque a battle against the dictates of his own enlightened judgment : his foes might defeat his troops, but could never subdue their General : they might force him to retire, but could never take him by surprize. It was by a firm and resolute perseverance in this line of conduct, that he justly acquired the illustrious title of the AMERICAN FABIUS.

AND

AND that we may be convinced how fully the truth of these observations was verified in his practice, let us pass over in silence the other passages of his life, and hasten to that *eventful period*, when he was chosen *Commander in Chief of all the American forces*.

HE was a member of the Congress which convened at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, in the year 1775: a year forever *conspicuous* in the annals of American liberty. The sword of British slaughter had already been drawn on the plains of Lexington, and dyed its guilty blade in American blood. An army had been hastily assembled in the vicinity of Boston, composed of the hardy sons of liberty, whose courage, enthusiastic zeal for the freedom and safety of their country, and their indignation against its lawless invaders were to supply the place of military experience, discipline, and the complicated apparatus of war. And soon after a detachment from this army gave to the Britons, at the battle of Bunker's hill, a terrible specimen of their obstinate valour, and taught them, by the wide extended slaughter which laid waste the flower of their troops, to consider the mighty expence of blood and treasure, it would cost them to conquer our country.

THE appeal was now made to Heaven; the spirit of resistance, through all the States, was blown to a flame, and the Congress was deliberating on the most suitable and necessary measures to concentrate and direct its force. One of the most obvious of which was the appointment

pointment of a Commander in Chief. And GEORGE WASHINGTON, distinguished by his eminent virtues and abilities, as the most suitable person for such an arduous station, was, on the 15th of June, 1775, *unanimously elected and appointed Commander in Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies.* And such was the public opinion of his virtues, that the choice was universally approved.

BUT what must have been the feelings of this *great and good* man at *this awful crisis*? He was fully apprized of the great naval and military strength of Great Britain, the skill and courage of her troops, and her boundless resources for war; "he knew that her fleets rode mistress of the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph over the four quarters of the world." He knew that the Americans, though brave, were deficient in martial skill and experience, and almost entirely destitute of military stores and the necessary furniture for war. He knew that their armies must be at first but little superior to an undisciplined rabble, and that a series of months and perhaps years, and an infinite expense of labour, of patience, and application must be employed to form them to such discipline, subordination, and confidence as would enable them to take the field, with a prospect of success, against an army of veteran foes. He knew that if they should fail of accomplishing the great objects of their conflict, the yoke of slavery might be riveted forever on the necks of his dear countrymen, and himself with his
principal

principal associates in this arduous enterprize might probably be sacrificed to British policy or resentment. What courage, therefore, what firmness, what confidence in the justice of his cause, what ardent affection for the liberty and safety of his country, what reliance on the protection of Heaven, must have inspired his breast, to induce him to accept a command so full of difficulty, labour, and hazard ? But under the influence of these noble principles, he did cheerfully accept it, though with unexampled modesty, as may appear from his reply to the President of Congress, announcing his appointment, in the following words : “ Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from the consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and in support of the Glorious Cause.”

He proceeded to further expressions of a modest confidence, but with a caution not to entertain too exalted expectations of his success, and then added : “ As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it ; I will keep an exact account of my expences, those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

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In these effusions of a great and liberal mind, what an amiable combination do we see of magnanimity and modesty, of a generosity and courage, worthy of a Washington.

Immediately on receiving his commission, he repaired to Cambridge and took the command of the army, already assembled at that place, and began to make such arrangements and regulations, as were necessary to render it respectable and formidable to its enemies. And here he commenced in earnest the arduous course of his military operations, hazards and toils. Minutely to detail them, is neither necessary nor possible. But could I form a miniature picture of the whole, or could I cause them to rise up to your view, and pass in rapid succession before your eyes, I might point out our indefatigable Hero on the heights of Charlestown, of Cambridge, of Roxbury, and Dorchester; on the latter I might shew you works rising in one night, like an exhalation from the earth, to the surprise and terror of his enemies. I might shew you these enemies hastily evacuating the town of Boston, and speeding their course to New-York. I might point out our watchful commander already at that post with his army, prepared to receive them, fortifying, contending, retiring, oppressed, but not dejected by disappointments and defeats—I might present him to your wondering eyes, now fighting, and now retreating with masterly address beneath the covert of the night, and the misty clouds of the morning, by which heaven concealed his movements from the view of the enemy,

and

and exerting all the powers of his mighty soul to save his army and his country from that utter destruction, which seemed just ready to overwhelm them. I might invite you to notice the various emotions painted on his manly countenance, and the generous tear swelling in his eye, when he saw his beloved soldiers subjected to defeat, to capture, dejection and death. For his heart was full of sensibility, and though his passions were never permitted to controul his judgment, to dethrone his reason, or to derange the order and harmony of his soul; yet, as became a moral and a christian hero, he indulged, as wisdom and generosity prescribed, to the tender and benevolent *emotions* and *sympathies* of his *heart*. Ready, whenever the duty of his station, and the importance of his object required it, to expose his troops and himself to the labors and dangers of fighting and fatigue, yet was he never prodigal of their strength or of their lives; not a man of them was ever sacrificed to his own personal honor or fame; not a drop of their blood was shed but for the service and benefit of his country. His soldiers were his children and friends, they loved, they revered, they adored him as the best of fathers, and the greatest of men. His voice was their oracle, and his word was their law—Yet all their love and veneration for their leader, all their zeal for the liberty and happiness of their country, could not always render them firm and undaunted in the face of their enemies—Hence that storm of conflicting passions, which, on his retreat from New-York, for a moment, harrowed up his soul, magnanimous as it was, when he
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saw the dejection, the desertion, and diminution of his army, and beheld at one view the dreadful horrors which must inevitably follow their total defeat and destruction. But this conflict was but the agonizing effort of honor, courage, and patriotism swelling and struggling with mighty energy to drive back that formidable engine of hostile power and violence which seemed just ready to crush his beloved country; and, when deserted by others, to rush forward, and like another Sampson, with his own single arm, to shake and tumble it to the ground, though at the hazard of burying himself in the wide-spreading ruins of its fall. But how soon did these passions subside into a calm submission to the disposals of Providence, and a determined resolution to defend the cause in which he had embarked to the last extremity, and never to desert it, while one man could be found to assist him in its support? so that when he was asked where he should make a stand? he coolly, but significantly replied, "Beyond the Allegany mountains, if we are not able to do it before"—Behold him, therefore, retreating through the Jerseys with an handful of troops, destitute of tents, of cloathing and of almost every convenience necessary to shield them from the rigid severities of the season; their unshod, wounded feet marking their footsteps with blood; scorned by their enemies, deserted by their friends, and ready to be overwhelmed with an ocean of surrounding evils and enemies; yet under the pressure of this mighty load of complicated sufferings and dangers, *his heart is a stranger*

to timidity or despair. Conscious of the rectitude and purity of his own principles, confident in the justice and magnitude of his cause, and relying on the protection of that providence, which had hitherto preserved himself and his country from utter ruin; he waited, in the employment of every practicable measure, and every possible exertion, for the favourable moment which should arrest and roll back the headlong current of his affairs.

AND behold that favourable moment is happily realized when, on the 25th of December, '76, our *immortal Commander*, having recruited and marshaled his little army on the Pennsylvania bank of the river Delaware, recrosses that river, clogged with ice, in the darkness of the night, and in the very teeth of the cold driving tempest of snow and hail, attacks, kills and captures above nine hundred Hessians stationed at Trenton, and retires with his prisoners in safety and triumph! Behold, a few days after, the enemy coming down upon him, at the same Trenton, like an angry lion, seeming to have encircled him within the grasp of his paws, and lying down to rest for the night, secure of his prey, when the cold piercing wind of favouring heaven blowing from the north and congealing the spongy earth to the hardness of a pavement beneath the feet of his troops, (for the elements fought for *Washington*) he, with a masterly address, by a secret, rapid and circuitous march, gains the rear of the enemy, attacks, defeats and captures their troops at Princeton, and retires in safety, before the enemy, amazed and embarrassed, could arrive to revenge the unexpected disaster!

IN this rencounter, our valiant hero displayed a spirit of daring intrepidity apparently bordering on rashness, by exposing his life, in a critical moment when his troops began to give way, to the most imminent danger ; but well he knew, that it would be no temerity to hazard a life, however precious, at such an interesting crisis, when a failure of success would render it useless to his country, and liable to be doomed a sacrifice to an ignominious fate—The deadly balls of the enemy, being turned aside by an invisible hand from *his* breast, drove on with indignant fury and pierced the gallant bosom of the much lamented Mercer.

THESE brilliant operations and successes, though by no means decisive, yet surprised and confounded the enemy, and were to the army and the country like life from the dead—And by setting in motion the springs of universal activity and enterprize, produced consequences of the utmost utility and importance.

BUT all these consequences did not immediately follow. For, in the succeeding year of '77, at Brandywine, at Germantown, at Ticonderoga, and at other places, which need not be mentioned, defeat and disaster attended the operations of our arms.

FOR the character and example of our beloved hero were not to be compleated by a short course of victories and successes, and then to sink, like a blazing meteor,
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into the shades of darkness and oblivion. His divine master was forming him in the school of adversity to a spirit of resignation, patience and piety, preparing him to act a part of distinguished dignity and usefulness in future eminent stations, and to exhibit a shining example of virtue and goodness to warriors and statesmen, and even to persons of every rank in life, to all future generations—In the greatest extremity of his misfortunes, and the lowest depth of his depression, Congress was so intirely satisfied with his abilities and conduct, and placed such a perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour and uprightness of his principles and operations, that they vested him with powers, the most ample, compleat, and extensive in regard to the appointments, arrangements and proceedings necessary to the prosecution of the war—This ponderous weight of care and responsibility he willingly assumed with a single view, as we have the fullest reason to believe, to the preservation and establishment of the liberty and independence of his country—And hence it was that, far superior to those ignoble passions of envy and regard to personal honour and applause, which have sometimes had too much influence on minds, otherwise, in a degree, great and generous, he rejoiced in the success and victory of generals acting at a distance under his own orders, or those of Congress, as cordially as if they had been his own—With what gladness did he hear that the cool, steady, and sagacious courage and conduct of General Green, had contended against his noble antagonist with such energy and effect, as to leave him only
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the empty name and honor of a victory, without permitting him to reap any solid advantages from it? With what lively satisfaction and triumph did he welcome the intelligence, that, the northern army under the direction of General Gates, inspired by the headlong courage of Arnold, and the dispassionate intrepidity of Lincoln, had been crowned with the compleat success of capturing General Burgoyne with his whole army? Perhaps his generous heart swelled not with more grateful emotions at the decided superiority of his own troops over the forces of Britain at the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, '78, when he had the unspeakable pleasure of realizing the fruits of his indefatigable activity and diligence in forming them to such a perfection of military discipline, courage and skill, that they were able successfully to contend with the bravest foldiers in the world.

BUT passing over in silence a variety of interesting events and operations; omitting to mention the detestable plot, and vile defection of an Arnold, which have branded his name with everlasting infamy; and to expatiate on the compassionate fate of the hapless and generous Andre, and the painful regret which wounded the heart of our benevolent hero under the imperious necessity of putting that amiable youth to an untimely and dishonorable death; we hasten on to the closing and crowning operation of this long and calamitous war. The capture of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army, at York-Town, on the 19th of October, 1781, by the united

ted forces of America and France, afforded the most lively satisfaction to the heart of our beloved hero, not only as it witnessed a decided superiority of his troops over those of the enemy, and crowned them and their General with never-fading laurels of victory and glory, but more especially as it furnished ample ground of hope, that this long and disastrous war would soon be concluded by an honourable and lasting peace: a peace which would forever secure to united America her Liberty, her Sovereignty and Independence—The happy event of such a peace, which had been the object of all the wishes and efforts of our hero, and which terminated his military career with felicity and glory, was compleated on the 3d day of September, 1783. An event, the blessings of which would probably never have been realized by the States of America, had it not been for the talents and virtues of their inestimable Washington. It was an event, however, of which the happy fruits were in danger of being blasted by the officers of the American army, when they discovered that they were to be discharged without receiving that compensation for their services, which they justly expected, and by the measures which their resentment at such unworthy treatment, excited them to pursue, for obtaining satisfaction to their just demands.

In this most difficult and delicate conjuncture, all the powers and virtues of our hero's soul were called forth to a new train of objects and exertions. But instead of availing himself of the discontent and resentment of the

army

army to usurp the powers of government, and render himself the sovereign master of his country, a conduct to which an ambitious and aspiring mind would probably have been prompted, he employed the whole influence of his authority and address, and of his interest in the affections of his officers, to calm their passions and to satisfy their minds that justice would be done them by their much indebted country.

THIS noble effort of justice and benevolence to his military friends, and of respect and affection to the liberties and constituted authorities of his country, ever sacred and dear to his heart, was compleated in his farewell orders, in which, with all the dignity of a commander, and all the piety and affection of a father, he gave the most salutary advice to his officers, and bid them a long and affectionate adieu.

As these orders breathe an ardent and amiable spirit of wisdom and goodness, of generous affection to his army and his country, and of piety to his God, I cannot forbear citing a paragraph or two from such an excellent performance, as strongly expressive of the genuine character of his heart—

“A CONTEMPLATION” (says the venerable Chief)
 “of the compleat attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous

vantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving, while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle."

"And the General being now to conclude with these last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command; he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others.

"With these wishes and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation is drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever."

Now from this general review of a long and complicated series of operations and events, various, interesting and extending from one extremity of United America to the other, to Canada, to the ocean, and to the kingdoms of the European world, must we not be led to form

form the most enlarged and exalted idea of the genius, the talents and virtues of our most excellent Chief? Of that invincible fortitude and courage which could sustain his mind under such an accumulated load of labor and disappointments? Of that amazing penetration, force of judgment, and stretch of thought, which enabled him to look through such an endless variety of affairs, to give direction to such a multitude of movements, and to devise plans and measures for carrying into execution such vast and numerous designs? The weight of our rising Empire was laid upon his shoulders, and he became the principal pillar in supporting the liberty, the independence, the honour and safety of our western world.

LET no honest and scrupulous, but erring mind, let no heart, attempting to disguise far different sentiments under the specious covering of humility and piety, censure the honours we pay to his memory as far transcending the merit of a mortal; and tax us with idolatry in paying an homage to his virtues, which is due only to the perfections of his God. For we religiously avow, and wish to have it forever understood, that we devoutly acknowledge his whole bright assemblage of abilities, virtues and achievements, to have been given him from Heaven in tenderness and mercy to these United States; and to that original, inexhaustible fountain of being and happiness, our unfeigned tribute of gratitude and praise, is, and ought to be ultimately, paid. Of this our humble

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Washington

Washington was himself deeply sensible ; this he devoutly and uniformly confessed. And by a singular humility and modesty, which, while it depressed and annihilated his virtues and services in his own eyes, exalted them in the eyes of God and man, he, for a long time, confounded the malignant eye of Envy, and awed to silence her slanderous tongue.

Thus our beloved hero, having finished the numerous and arduous labors of his military life, having resigned his commission with a solemnity and dignity, and with expressions of gratitude and piety becoming a general and a christian, retired to the favourite pleasures and employments of rural and domestic life.

AND here, if time would permit, we might view him exercising, in the shades of retirement, all the mild and amiable virtues of the gentleman, the citizen, the husbandman, the companion, the master, the husband and the friend.

BUT from these domestic and rural enjoyments, ever inestimably dear to his heart, he was soon called forth by his affectionate and admiring country to a new series of arduous and important labors. Chosen as a delegate, and elected to preside in a convention assembled at Philadelphia, in the month of May, 1787, for the purpose of forming a constitution of government for the United States, he contributed the whole force of his political knowledge

knowledge and experience to the accomplishment of that design. And when it was compleated and ratified by a large majority of the states in the union, the wisdom, the gratitude and esteem of his countrymen led them to elect him, by their unanimous suffrages, to preside as their supreme magistrate, and to carry into execution that constitution of government, which his talents and virtues had assisted to form. He entered upon the arduous work of this difficult and delicate administration on the 30th day of April, 1789, at the city of New-York. "The ceremony of his inauguration (says a celebrated writer) was performed in the open gallery of Federal Hall, in the view of many thousand spectators—The oath was administered by Chancellor Livingston—Several circumstances concurred to render the scene unusually solemn—The presence of the beloved Father and Deliverer of his Country—The impressions of gratitude for his past services—The vast concourse of spectators—The devout fervency with which he repeated the oath, and the reverential manner in which he bowed to kiss the sacred volume—These circumstances, together with that of his being chosen to the most dignified office in America, and perhaps in the whole world, by the unanimous voice of more than three millions of enlightened freemen, all conspired to place this amongst the most august and interesting scenes which have been exhibited on the theatre of this globe."

AND who, with any appearance of reason or justice, can venture to assert, that the progress of his whole administration

ministration was not answerable in wisdom, fidelity, and integrity to the grandeur, solemnity, and piety of this commencing act? To attempt a particular detail of the most important measures and transactions of this administration, to specify the particular displays of prudence, impartiality, firmness, and political ability, exhibited by the President, in times the most trying and critical, amidst the intrigues and collisions of contending parties and rival interests, and the dangerous and deluding influence of foreign powers and domestic factions, would be a task as far exceeding my abilities, as the bounds allotted to the present performance.

—But can any person, even of a moderate share of consideration, candour and judgment, suspect that this *great man* was drawn forth from a retreat, which *he assures* us himself, he had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in his own flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of his declining years; a retreat that was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to him by the addition of habit to inclination, and of the frequent interruptions in his health to the gradual waste committed on it by time—can any person believe that this great man was thus drawn forth to assume a station of the highest labor, difficulty and responsibility, by any other motives than a veneration and love for the voice of his country, and a pure and ardent zeal for the promotion of her dearest interest, honour and happiness? And will not every one acknowledge that, from the long
experiment

experiment which had been made of his virtues and abilities, they must have justly appeared to his countrymen more equal to the trust he consented to assume, than those of any of his compatriots ?

DID he nominate and appoint to stations of superior importance men whose political sentiments he knew to be different from his own ? This was an expression of the independence and impartiality of his heart, and was done from a generous presumption, arising from his own conscious integrity, that they would be influenced by a sacred regard to the honour and happiness of their country, and would sacrifice their own private sentiments to the public good.

AND will it not be acknowledged by every candid mind, that he clearly understood, and faithfully consulted the benefit of his country, in taking, decidedly, a neutral station with regard to the contending powers of Europe, and in studiously avoiding the calamity of being involved in the distracting politics and destructive wars of the European Nations : and that while he strenuously cultivated the friendship of each, he was religiously faithful and assiduous to acknowledge the claims, respect the rights, and promote the interest and honor of all ?

IF his talents, his measures and exertions, were, in any instance, ineffectual to the execution of a task so arduous and difficult, where is the man whose talents
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and measures would have secured success? And if, in some instances, he was not so happy as to gratify his own wishes in satisfying the desires and expectations of all his countrymen, such a failure cannot be strange; to have avoided it, must have baffled the powers of an angel, and never can be imputed to the want of ability or virtue in a man. And as his conduct in the administration of Government was full of dignity and excellence, so unexampled an evidence of his modesty and moderation was exhibited in his voluntary retirement from the highest station and first honors of his country to the comparative silence and obscurity of a private life. And his affectionate zeal for the honor and happiness of his countrymen, in present and future generations, was displayed in that admired Legacy of moral and political wisdom and exhortation, which he bequeathed to them immediately before his retirement.

ONE act more was necessary to compleat his character, and to crown his moral, political and military virtues and glories with that height of perfection, to which they were destined to arrive. And *that act* he performed by a cheerful acceptance, from the hands of our most worthy President, of an appointment to the office of *General and Commander in Chief* of all the armies raised, or to be raised, for the service of the United States—A principal design of raising these armies, being to repel the apprehended attacks or invasions of a powerful and insidious enemy; the General had “the boundless field

field of public action, incessant trouble and high responsibility," which such a design must comprehend, fully in view; and his letter to the President, announcing his acceptance, is altogether worthy of himself. It breathes the warmest sentiments of love to his country, the fullest approbation of the firm, but pacific measures of government, a just and dignified indignation against the base and insidious treatment of it, by its enemies, and a determined resolution to oppose, with all his powers, their unrighteous and hostile designs.

"It was not possible," says he, for me to remain ignorant of or indifferent to, recent transactions." These transactions he particularly recites, and then adds: These "could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence. Satisfied therefore that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of the United States."

"Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially

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ly in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened ; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States."

Yes, ye sons of America, ye officers and soldiers, who have enjoyed the happiness and glory to serve under his unrivalled command in former years of your country's danger, and are indissolubly attached to him by the strongest ties of gratitude, veneration and love—Your beloved general had determined again to clothe himself in armour, and to expose that venerable head, now grown grey and sacred with labours, with years and with honors, to the hazards of the hostile field, in defence of the liberty, the religion, the independence and glory of his country.—How did your hearts exult in the prospect ? How did you already anticipate, in your imaginations, the idea of success and victory ? How did you seem to behold the defeat of your enemies, and the terror and confusion which seized upon their souls at the very sight of your Washington !

BUT how can I venture to rouse you from the Reverie of this pleasing dream ? The God of armies had appointed him to a conflict of a far different kind. To contend with the only enemy by whom he could be vanquished.

Death ?

Death ! great proprietor of all, 'tis thine
 To tread out Empires and to quench the Stars !"
 Thine all-subduing, unrelenting hand
 Has laid our precious Hero in the dust !
 How deep the wound infix'd in every heart ?

THE sighs of sorrow are as sincere as his virtues, and as extensive as his fame—Our churches are hung with fables, and every object seems clad with a garment of wo—The countenances of the young and the fair have lost their smiles ; their faces are covered with a gloom, and their eyes suffused with tears—Children lip the praises of Washington, and weep that he is dead—The hardy bosoms of statesmen and warriors are softened with grief, and their manly eyes do not disdain to pour a tribute of tears on the grave of their own and their country's father and friend—Virtue and religion lament the loss of their favourite son—And were any so obdurate as not to lament it, they might expect that the plains, the forests and the rocks, which have witnessed his virtues and achievements, would reproach their stupidity by bursting into sighs and groans !

AND have not all the children of America reason to tremble at the frown of Heaven, and look forward with anxious presages to the calamities which may succeed so doleful an harbinger ? Should not each one lay his hand on his heart, and ask himself, Whose sin has done this execrable deed ? *Was it mine ? Was it my sin which has slain the father of my country ? O let me tear the execrable murderer forever from my heart—*And let me look to that

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gracious

gracious and holy Saviour, with penitence and hope, who calls me, in these loud accents of mingled displeasure and mercy, to be humble, to reform, and to imitate, to the utmost of my power, the virtue and the piety of that venerable man, whose death I so justly deplore—For though I shall never be able to resemble their magnitude, yet I may hope to imitate their sincerity.

AND those virtues, and especially that humble and unaffected piety, which was the basis and parent of them all, and which elevated, adorned and sanctified his other illustrious talents, accomplishments, and services, may not only serve as an example for imitation, but prove a source of consolation to our wounded spirits. We may be consoled with the animating consideration, that death has only laid his *mortal clay* to sleep for a season in the silent tomb; but that every thing useful, amiable and venerable in his capacious soul, lives, and will live and flourish for ever in the happy climes of immortality—

AND these suggestions are not the incense of customary flattery, offered on the altar of an illustrious Tomb.—For those, who had the most intimate knowledge of the sentiments of his heart, and the actions of his private life, assure us, that he was a serious and exemplary believer of the truths and precepts of our holy religion; that he was, so far as their observations could determine, a constant and humble performer of the duties of secret retirement and devotion; and that, in all the trying scenes and conjunctures of difficulty and distress, with which he was called to encounter, he undoubtedly had recourse

recourse to God by prayer for support, defence and direction. Hence we more easily account for the uniform constancy, dignity and excellence of his character, which, like the face of Moses, shone with an amiable and venerable lustre derived from his secret intercourse with God: and for the ultimate, signal success of his great designs, seeing, for their accomplishment, he had engaged the alliance and assistance of heaven. And this spirit of piety and devotion was evident in his humble and devout attendance on the sacred ordinances of public worship and religion. A solemn acknowledgment of the supreme dominion of the most High, of constant dependence on his allwise and powerful Providence, and of great obligations to his infinite goodness and mercy for all public and private benefits, were frequently introduced, with marks of cordial sincerity and satisfaction, into such public acts, orders, and addresses as were of a nature properly to admit of such an acknowledgment—In the speech which he delivered to the first Congress, under the new Constitution, he says :—" It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the Councils of Nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect ; that his benedictions may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses
your

your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent Nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to preface. These reflections arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence." In a following paragraph he adds :—" There is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness ; between duty and advantage ; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. And we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained."

BOLD

BOLD and uncharitable indeed must be the lips, which will dare to insinuate, that, considering the man, and the magnitude of the occasion on which he uttered these sentiments, they are not the effusions of a truly pious and magnanimous heart.

AND those, who were spectators and witnesses of the solemn scene of his last and expiring moments, assure us, that they bore an exact correspondence to the august and amiable tenor of his preceding life and actions ; that his soul was patient, serene, and undaunted at the approach of death, *that he closed his mouth and eyes with his own hand, and expired without a struggle and without a groan !* O ! blessed man ! How hast thou fled forever from our sight ? But thy righteous name shall be had in everlasting remembrance ! Yet what is that to thee, if thou art fallen prostrate, sunk and lost forever beneath the inexorable hand of fate ? But *can we, can we ever believe that the Man, the Christian, the Hero, the Saviour, the Father, the Boast and Delight of his country ; the bright assemblage of every amiable and exalted virtue, the example of goodness and greatness to the Citizen, the Soldier, the Statesman and the General ; the favourite of his friends, the terror of his enemies, the glory of his species and the admiration of the world ; can we believe that he has sunk into the dreary abyss of eternal nothingness and oblivion ? Can we believe that the man, whom many millions of his fellow-citizens lament with sighs of undissembled sorrow, whom thousands of surviving military associates remember with reverence and love, and deplore with vivid emotions of*
 painful

painful regret, *is forgotten by his God ?* And forever lost in "the common mals of matter never dignified with life ?" If we could but suspect, that such were his *mysterious Destiny*, our tears might flow forever without hope of solid alleviation to our distress—Even his guardian angels might be supposed to weep over this *destiny* of their late delightful charge !

BUT they *do* not, they *need* not weep ; for *Faith, Hope, and Charity* saw them, though invisible to mortal eyes, standing in the attitude of suspense, and waiting, with solemn expectation, around his dying bed ; they beheld them receive his mortal spirit, when set at liberty from the ruins of its body, beneath the friendly covert of their wide-extended wings, and escort it along the ethereal road to the realms of light, and to the tribunal of its Redeemer and Judge ; who gave to this his faithful servant his full acquittance and applause, purged away the spots and stains of blamable infirmity and imperfection, which still adhered to him as a son of Adam's fallen race, and then adorned him with a *crown of glory* and a *robe of light*. They saw the saints, the holy martyrs, heroes and angels, those blessed inhabitants of the bright abodes, welcome this new-made angel to their blissful society, as a partner and associate with themselves in all that celestial liberty, perfection, blessedness and glory which will beautify, improve and enrapture their immortal natures throughout all ages, world without end.

THE
ADDRESS

OF THE LATE

George Washington,

WHEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

On declining being considered

A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a Citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I BEG you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency

ciency of grateful respect for your past kindness : But am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs, with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I REJOICE, that the state of your concerns external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety : And am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

THE impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.

Not

Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself : and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to our praise, & as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging in situations, in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea I shall

carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

HERE perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only feel in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

INTERWOVEN as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

THE unity of Government which constitutes you one

people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real Independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference you have the same religion, manners, habits and

political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the production of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to

the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.— Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of a patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common govern-

ment can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and a full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to the union, affecting all parts of our country, while experiment shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should be furnished for characterising parties, by Geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of

a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi ; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured ? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens ?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute ; they will inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced—Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the

constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

ALL obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

HOWEVER combinations or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

TOWARDS the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular

opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care, the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions ; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion ; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I HAVE already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of a spirit of party, generally.

THIS spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments—more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

THE alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

WITHOUT looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of

one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

THERE is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty.—This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.—From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of the political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been

evinced by experiments ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates—But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed—The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice ?—And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded of the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a

necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

PROMOTE, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit—One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for dangers, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it. Avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue,—that to have revenue there must be taxes—and none can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant—that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties)—ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction

of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations—cultivate peace and harmony with all—Religion and morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it ? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it ? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with Virtue ? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas ! is it rendered impossible by its vices ?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded ; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.—The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave: It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haugh-

ty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another induces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nations facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld:—And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opin-

ion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils; such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

AGAINST the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.— But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

THE great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

EUROPE has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice ?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it : for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the

best policy. I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

TAKING care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

HARMONY, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither sending or granting exclusive favors or preferences—consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience or circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another: that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

IN offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations : But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefits, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

IN relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d April, 1795, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

AFTER deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as shou'd depend on me, to maintain it with moderation.

THE considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

THE duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

THE inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

THOUGH in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error : I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

RELIVING on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

George Washington.

United States, 17th September, 1796.



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